A. J. P. Taylor on Louis Fischer's "Stalin"

THE Nation

August 30, 1952

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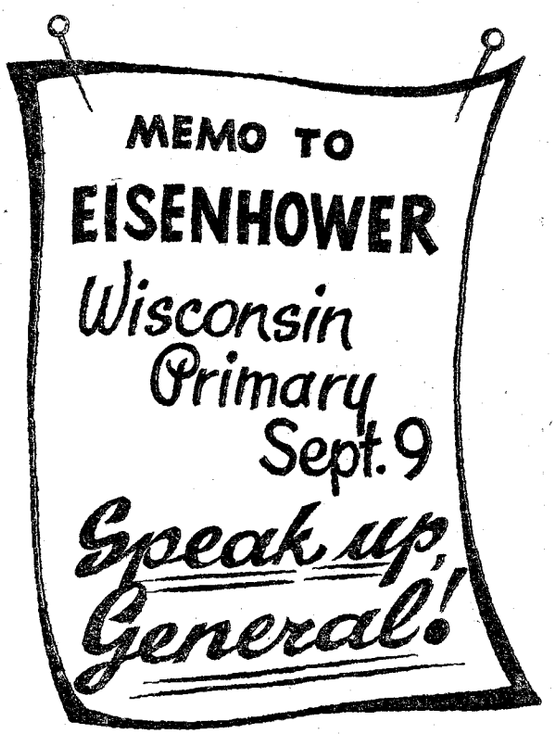
Wisconsin Testifies Against McCarthy



Civic Leaders Tell Why They Oppose Their Junior Senator

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Letters to the Editors

What the TV Camera Saw

Dear Sirs: As I read Douglas Foster's description of the Republican and Democratic national conventions as seen on television in the August 16 issue of *The Nation,* I found it hard to believe that he and I had watched the same show. Whereas he saw steam rollers moving inexorably toward their goals, I saw two disorganized parties groping and struggling toward the selection of the men most likely to appeal to the greatest number of voters. If this process was a "fatuous exhibition of phoniness," then the people staging the show must have been theatrical experts, for they managed to induce a great many delegates to cheer, scream, call each other thieves, reactionaries, and Reds, and in general behave like people who had no idea that "the climaxes were carefully plotted."

It seems to me that Mr. Foster fails to understand the role of the national conventions in American political life. Our two parties are not well-organized groups representing definite political philosophies; each contains elements that are dissatisfied with the general direction the party is taking. The purpose of political conventions is to hammer out a program that the majority of delegates can agree upon and to select a candidate who can unite these diverse groups and present the strongest case for his party on Election Day. The Democratic conventions in the past twenty years have been dominated primarily by the liberal wing, but the party must always make some concessions to those who regard a trend toward excessive liberalism as dangerous. Among the Republicans, as the "outs," there has been a struggle between those who wish to campaign on an all-out program of opposition and those who accept some of the social advances achieved under Democratic administrations and promise to administer them more honestly or efficiently. Every four years our conventions try to determine the extent to which the Democratic Party will be liberal and the Republican Party will be conservative. Viewed in this light these struggles for power do not seem immoral, phony, or "fixed."

As a Democrat, I watched the Republican convention with an extremely critical eye, but no "seeds of disgust" were implanted in me by the battle over the contested delegates. True, the legal issues were mere window-dressing for the struggle to control the convention and the party. At the same time, however, the Republican Party was deciding whether to go before the people with a candidate who symbolized extreme conservatism or with one who, rightly or wrongly, appeared more progressive. I find nothing sinister in trying to pick a candidate who will win an election.

But Mr. Foster reserved his cruelest remarks for the Democrats. To him the draft was a disgusting hoax. My television set registered a different picture. When Mr. Harriman threw his support to Stevenson, this did not seem to me the climax of a "marionette show" but the act of an intelligent liberal leader who, recognizing that Governor Stevenson was the man most delegates could willingly accept, saw the necessity of having the initial impetus to victory come from the liberal rather than the conservative wing of the party. To describe the third ballot as "the unfolding of a secret plot," is absurd on its face. From the opening moment of the convention, political reporters were informing the American people that Governor Stevenson seemed to have the most delegate support. And I am certain that Governor Stevenson, President Truman, and Jim Farley would be mildly amused at the thought that Farley passed "the word" to delegations that "the fix" was on for Stevenson. Certainly Farley wanted Stevenson and used his influence to get him the nomination. But I find it hard to believe that a nomination whose push to final victory came from Fair Dealers Averell Harriman and Paul Fitzpatrick was secretly engineered by Jim Farley, who split with this wing of the party many years ago.

Nor can I agree that Governor Stevenson's reluctance was nothing but playacting. When the nominee made his first announcement of acceptance, I saw a very troubled man who realized that enormous responsibilities might soon be thrust upon him. Reporters and commentators who could agree on little else were practically unanimous on his obvious sincerity.

No, the Democratic convention was not a pre-arranged hoax. There were many groups, each with varied shades of political thought, fighting to make an imprint on the Democratic program for 1952. The struggle at times was bitter, but what came across my television screen was not "theatrical posturing." It was a struggle which resulted in a fairly satisfactory resolution of the conflicts within the party. And this resolution was achieved without sacrifice of the liberal principles which have provided the vitality for the Democratic Party in this century.

It would be naive of course to say there were no secret meetings and no private deals at the conventions. Bargaining and compromise are essential elements of politics. But the deals made were between groups that represented important sectors of our population. Television gave us the opportunity to see a good part of this democratic process. I was left with no feeling of disillusionment but rather with a strong sense of having participated in a peculiarly American institution.

New York NORMAN REDLICH

"Deals": a Necessity Today

Dear Sirs: The shocking thing about Douglas Foster's article, Window on the Smoke-filled Room, is that the author has managed to serve in the army, graduate from college, and read the New York papers and still have so little understanding of how democracy functions.

Isn't it time for those of us who call ourselves liberals to realize that democracy can only function in a large, industrialized country through the pressures of organized groups—some good, some bad, some indifferent? If this is the case, the "deal" which so offends Mr. Foster becomes a part of the democratic functioning. When the groups supported by liberals are strong enough, the "deals" will be "good" ones.

LAWRENCE ROGIN,
Director, Education Department,
Textile Workers Union of America

AGAIN the world's attention is transfixed by the complex evolution of Soviet policy. What do the new five-year plan and the new draft statute for the Communist Party portend?

Be sure to read, in next week's issue, J. Alvarez del Vayo's appraisal of current Soviet policy.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Futile Speculation

Last week Moscow made most of the news. It dumped so many items into the hopper that papers and foreign offices alike floundered helplessly in an attempt to fit the various events into some sort of pattern. Life's darkest moment for a foreign correspondent must be when his home office cables for a detailed interpretation of some surprise move by the Kremlin. Korea, either peace or renewed war; China's need for more economic aid from Russia; Communist plans in Southeast Asia; Soviet-Chinese relations with Japan; the final handing over by Russia of the Manchurian railroad and Port Arthur; threats to the peace in Central Europe—these were only a few of the guesses about the agenda under discussion behind closed doors by Russian and Chinese negotiators that were filed during the week from Moscow or Tokyo, Hongkong or London.

A summary interpretation from Moscow by Harrison E. Salisbury in the New York *Times* on Sunday sounded more sensible than the rest, possibly because it was so carefully unsensational. He reported that "veteran Moscow diplomats" regarded the events of the week—the closely guarded Sino-Russian talks, the publication of the new Five-Year Plan, and the calling of the Communist Congress in October with the announced changes in party organization and structure—as indicating that no major changes in Soviet aims or methods were to be expected; just more of the same, but better formulated and coordinated.

Will Anyone Ever Say "Yes"?

The Soviet answer on Germany, however, released last Saturday, revealed its purpose in both text and timing. In this single case we are ready to venture an interpretation of our own. We believe the Russian note, like the Western proposal to which it belatedly replied and like every note that preceded it, was intended to put the United States on the spot—to force it to say no and thus expose its self-interested aims. We further believe that these tactics, while always apparently successful, are always foolish. If the Russians had said yes to the Western offer of a conference on the question of the possibility of free all-German elections, Washington would have been confounded. Instead, they made an elaborate counter-proposal, which they knew would be unacceptable to the United States while reasonable enough to impress the Germans and French and perhaps prevent ratification of the peace and arms agreements.

This the United States will doubtless denounce as a trick to pull the West into a useless wrangle over the whole German problem, while the integration program languishes. And so it is. But if the United States were to say yes, the Russians in turn would be thrown off balance and the State Department could use the proposed conference to demonstrate its good faith on the issue of German unity and democratic elections. That this course has its own hazards we admit. The Russians might actually agree to terms that would force the United States to go through with the deal, since Moscow is probably more willing to risk the emergence of an independent Germany than the United States is to risk the collapse of its defense plans. So, all things considered, Washington can be expected to say no, giving the Russians their diplomatic triumph and depending upon American power and pressure to force ratification of the pacts.

Schumacher and American Policy

Kurt Schumacher created the post-war Socialist Party in Germany. Stiffly rejecting collaboration with the Communists in 1946, he also turned down all attempts at collaboration from the right. At the same time he labored to draw into the party younger men, many of them trained in the resistance, to supplant or offset the relics of Weimar. With this energetic and somewhat intransigent element, he energized the Socialist machine, forming it into a powerful opposition. His death last week will put his accomplishment to its severest test, for while he lived, Schumacher's stubborn, harsh leadership and moral fervor dominated every phase of the party's activity.

His successor will probably be Dr. Erich Ollenhauser, a devoted follower but a mild, unassuming personality. On the great issue facing the German Socialists, rearmament and integration with the West, Ollenhauser faithfully reflects his leader's views. Though passionately anti-Communist, Schumacher strongly supported a unified, neutral Germany capable of making its own bargains with East and West. But other leading Socialists have favored a more conciliatory attitude toward both

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the West and the rearming of the Bonn Republic. Whether Schumacher's "Young Turks" under other leadership will be able to keep the party on its present line is at least doubtful. In this sense, the German Socialist Party's loss is Washington's gain.

Speak Up, General!

SENATOR McCARTHY, like other demagogues before him, has received a great deal more attention nationally than in his home state. The disparity may be accounted for by the fact, noted by William G. Rice in this issue, that Wisconsin has not suffered greatly from McCarthyism, although it has had to suffer McCarthy as its representative in Washington for the last six years. But the tart comments on the Senator in this issue should finally dispose of the notion that Wisconsin voters are any longer, if indeed they ever were, apathetic about him.

Although the undercurrent of resentment against McCarthy is becoming stronger in Wisconsin, he is still favored to win the Republican nomination on September 9 unless General Eisenhower can be induced to repudiate him before then. Leonard Schmitt has been making a strong bid for the nomination, but it has not proved easy to induce many Democratic voters—most of the opposition to McCarthy is to be found among Democrats—to enter the Republican primary even for the temporary and limited purpose of voting against the Senator. To some extent this reluctance has been lessened by Mr. Schmitt's assurance that he will not support McCarthy in November under any circumstances. Nevertheless, a recent poll taken at the Tri-County Fair at Superior, in an area carried by Truman in 1948, indicates that McCarthy still enjoys a large advantage. Within recent weeks, however, a united labor committee has been organized to support Schmitt, and the outlook has improved.

Meanwhile, as was bound to happen, serious trouble has arisen over McCarthy in Republican circles. It began when Paul Hoffman, first director of the Marshall Plan, now head of the Ford Foundation and one of General Eisenhower's principal backers, testified under oath that McCarthy's charges against General George C. Marshall were "fantastically false." The timing of Mr. Hoffman's deposition in the Benton-McCarthy libel suit, as well as the fact that it was not given in response to a subpoena, indicated that some of General Eisenhower's backers were trying their best to have the General repudiate McCarthy, if only by proxy, before the September 9 primary. This impression was confirmed when William S. White of the New York *Times* reported on August 22 that Senator Nixon would not indorse McCarthy and might even criticize his methods.

Since this report conflicted with Senator Karl Mundt's

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announcement of the previous day that General Eisenhower would indorse McCarthy, the wire services immediately requested clarification. Senator Nixon then explained that the General would support McCarthy if the Senator won the nomination. But the General himself promptly hedged. He would never give "blanket support" to anyone who "holds views that . . . violate my conception of what is decent, right, just, and fair," but he would back any Republican against any Democrat for election to the Senate this year. Then, as though to indicate what he meant by "un-American" methods, he spoke up vigorously in defense of General Marshall.

IN RETROSPECT Eisenhower must be no more satisfied with this performance than some of his backers appear to be. Better to have said nothing than to have indicated an awareness of the kind of man McCarthy is and then failed to repudiate him. As the New York *Times* pointed out, the General "disappointed many of his friends and supporters" without placating the right wing of the party. And he also set the stage for the Democrats. Had the General forgotten that President Truman is scheduled to speak in Milwaukee at a Labor Day rally? An unequivocal repudiation of McCarthy after this date will be dismissed as "me-tooism," while what he has now said will sound empty and craven by comparison with what the President is likely to say on September 1.

But there is still time for the General to redeem himself. Let his supporters—a category that has never included McCarthy—explain to him that McCarthyism is not a partisan issue. As a Presidential nominee, General Eisenhower's obligations are to the Republican Party, not to McCarthy. McCarthy is bad medicine for the Republicans. If the General has any doubts on this score let him consult the Republican Senators who signed Senator Margaret Chase Smith's famous "Declaration of Conscience." The General will betray the best interests of that party if he fails to repudiate McCarthy. In an effort to make it a little easier for him to do what he would obviously like to do, the New York *Times* has suggested that he should repudiate McCarthyism, if not McCarthy. But the people want something more than the assurance that General Eisenhower is opposed to McCarthyism; they want to see McCarthy defeated. They have a right to insist, therefore, that the General repudiate McCarthy before September 9.

From the resort where he is recuperating McCarthy has issued a statement welcoming the support of Nixon and Eisenhower—as well he might. Nevertheless Joe is worried, and not over the state of his health. In fact he seems to have recovered from the effects of an operation on July 24 despite Westbrook Pegler's report that he is "broke and weak" and destined to carry to the grave the scar of an incision "about thirty inches long." Queried about the length of the scar, Joe himself conceded that it was "about twenty-four inches," not thirty, and a reporter, after a hurried inspection, thought he would be well advised to settle for twenty. Pegler can relax: Joe is not "weak" and not "broke"; he has, by all accounts, a huge war chest. But he wants more money and has sent out feverish appeals to his partisans from coast to coast to pass the hat.

Hollywood, proverbially an easy touch, has responded with the formation of a "Committee for Senator Joseph R. McCarthy" which includes such stout-hearted friends of freedom as Rupert Hughes, Ward Bond, John Wayne, Leo McCarey, Dick Powell, Randolph Scott, George Murphy, Ray Milland, Dennis Morgan, Harold Lloyd, Louis B. Mayer, and, of course, Adolphe Menjou. Speaking on behalf of the newly formed committee, Morrie Ryskind asks cynical Hollywood to believe that Senator McCarthy "has been basically right in all his charges"! Little did we imagine that the author of "Of Thee I Sing!" would one day be singing the praises of a demagogue like Joe. But these are perverse times; witness the Brooklyn *Tablet's* defense of McCarthy as an innocent victim of "character assassination"!

REGARDLESS of the outcome of the Republican primary, Leonard Schmitt's campaign will have served several important purposes. Wisconsin is now thoroughly aroused. Had it not been for his candidacy, the opposition to McCarthy would have had only about sixty days in which to fight. This opposition has now been given new hope and confidence. The solo voices are swelling to a chorus. While it will not be surprising if McCarthy defeats Schmitt on September 9, the fight will then have only begun. The Democrats will have a strong nominee in Tom Fairchild or Henry Reuss, and McCarthy will carry to the November election and beyond the scars he has received from Schmitt's vigorous handling—scars much deeper and longer than that "thirty-inch incision."

September 9 also looms large on the calendar of those who want to destroy the menace of McCarthyism because they expect that General Eisenhower will by then have unequivocally repudiated the man who despises every value in which the General professes to believe. If the General wants to present the Democrats with an issue which, more than any other, will appeal to independent voters—voters who honor Senator Duff, Governor Warren, and Paul Hoffman for their opposition to McCarthy—then let him continue to maintain his most unmilitary, ostrich-like stance on McCarthy. If McCarthy is nominated, the Republican Party in Wisconsin will be hopelessly split and the independent vote permanently alienated. As a sound tactician, the General should not need any advisers to tell him what to do under these circumstances.

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Wisconsin Testifies Against McCarthy

The Wisconsin primary on September 9 will give the voters of that state an opportunity to register their second thoughts about Joe McCarthy, whom they sent to the United States Senate in 1946. McCarthy is seeking renomination by the Republicans against five other candidates. Not only this country but a good part of the rest of the world will watch the contest with fascination.

The Wisconsin Republican machine is overwhelmingly for McCarthy, but a powerful undercurrent against him also exists. From the leaders of this opposition in the state the editors of The Nation *have obtained comments which add up to a comprehensive and incisive appraisal of the man and his works. They are printed on this and the following pages.*

THE MEANING OF McCARTHYISM

BY WILLIAM G. RICE

Madison

WILL that ugly word McCarthyism preserve to posterity the political aroma of Joseph McCarthy, who so far has contributed nothing else to the life of the country? The voters of Wisconsin will probably settle that in 1952. Along with greater men—the disputed Lynch, the insignificant Boycott, the traitorous Quisling, the partisan Gerry—McCarthy has entered our language. Like most isms, except of course Republicanism and Americanism, McCarthyism is used as a term of obloquy. No doubt McCarthy would say he stands for Republicanism and Americanism. But there are those who loudly disagree.

What is this McCarthyism? To me it seems the use of the platform of office to transform a widely existing emotion of fear and hostility against one group of persons into hatred and distrust of other persons and groups by falsification and distortion of facts.

The use of the public-address system of *legislative* office has three special aspects: first, the immunity of the speaker from legal accountability; second, his authority as a lawmaker over his victims; third, his authority as a paymaster of his victims when they are public employees —as most of McCarthy's victims are. Perhaps this coercive factor is also part of McCarthyism; at least it describes the actual situation of McCarthy and his prey.

But the essence of this ism is use of a position of prominence to make false charges. Such conduct misleads the public. It maims the personalities of the accused. And when the accused are public employees, it throws sand into the machinery of government. What devil could invent a more subversive disregard of political responsibility, a more destructive attack on the essential civil liberty of participation—as voter, as public employee—in democratic government?

The falsity of McCarthy's "facts" has been shown again and again, most recently and clearly in the nonpartisan summary called "The McCarthy Record," compiled and published by the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record, obtainable for one dollar from its office at 409 North Frances Street, Madison, Wisconsin. In the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "The McCarthy method of catching Communists has been compared with that of the fellow who helps the fire department by ringing false alarms." It is possible to indulge in strong opinions on the damage done by false alarms. But an ounce of scientific evidence is worth a pound of opinion. And while we have no direct evidence on the effect of McCarthyism, we now have some evidence on a related matter that is highly indicative.

Two social scientists who have been investigating the government's security and loyalty program, which was inaugurated by executive order in 1947, report in the March, 1952, number of the *Yale Law Journal* the results of a preliminary inquiry on Security Measures and Freedom of Thought. Though the investigators tried to keep the specific procedures they were studying separated from other matters in their interviews with seventy government and fifteen academic employees, there was "hardly a respondent who did not sooner or later mention the name of the Senator from Wisconsin." Those queried did not doubt the need for loyalty and security investigations, but one said that the actual program makes McCarthy "psychologically inevitable," and another that what is happening "increases the political power and prestige of people like McCarthy."

Perhaps some would call the executive order itself McCarthyism. If so, it is a milder form, containing the safeguards of temperate, deliberate, and contentious procedure; the accused, though denied examination of his accusers or even knowledge of their identity, at least

WILLIAM G. RICE, a graduate of Harvard Law School, began his career as the law clerk of Justice Brandeis. He is now on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin Law School.

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has opportunity to make his case before the same forum as they. Moreover, to call it McCarthyism is, in a sense, to distort history. For the executive order in its original form, as well as the trial and conviction of Alger Hiss and of the eleven leading Communists in New York, all antedate McCarthy's notorious debut on February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, West Virginia.

While Jahoda and Cook, the authors of the *Yale Law Journal* report, do not and, I suppose, could not distinguish the effect of McCarthyism as a factor in the whole situation, they find that a change has occurred in the "climate of thought" in government and academic circles in Washington—a hardening of codes of behavior that is characteristic of dictatorial societies. They put it this way: "Stalin has made a mistake" cannot be uttered in the Soviet Union; but in Washington, where the climate is less frozen, it is not improper to say "Truman has made a mistake." But the rigor of the Washington climate is increasing. Of the seventy government employees interviewed, two refused to participate because they feared participation would not be compatible with the expected behavior of persons in their position. "In an investigation I might be asked why I participated," said one. Another respondent, who had been investigated and cleared (entirely for events before 1941), indicated he had not forgotten his experience. "If Communists like apple pie and I do," he said, "I see no reason why I should stop eating it. But I would."

Senator McCarthy

Another effect of loyalty investigations that has obviously been accentuated by the publicity and coercion of senatorial McCarthyism, is decreased confidence in fellow-workers. Trust is the essence of the esprit de corps that enables a plant to produce goods, a university to educate young men and women, and a government to serve its people. One of the persons interviewed, when asked to think of a colleague of whose loyalty he was entirely convinced, replied, "There is no such person. Everybody can be bought." Another respondent, who worked in a department traditionally proud of its good morale, said: "The official loyalty programs, for people in this department, are not so terrible. The unofficial ones with their origin on the Hill are disastrous. The worst impact . . . arises over new appointments. . . . I'm sure we're losing many first-rate applicants this way. The people in charge of hiring are afraid of Congress." So the sensitive man dares not apply, and the executive is afraid to recruit men and women with views or manners bold enough to attract attention. Among the groups thought by the respondents in this inquiry to be likely targets for unfounded suspicion were union members, people who do not mind living next to a Negro, free-thinkers, people with foreign-sounding names. One even said, "people who have many friends and associates"!

Thus Red-hunting, stimulated by the McCarthy lash, is tending to change red-blooded Americans into dyspeptic yes men. A Marshall, an Acheson, or a Jessup, with the President's backing, can pretty well take care of themselves, but those who lack such stalwart support may be cowed. Whether in public service, the entertainment world, or the professions, this sapping of individuality disclosed by Jahoda and Cook destroys the ability to put one's talents to constructive work, which is the ultimate civil liberty. The discouragement of men and women from entering public service, and the demoralization of those who do, undermines government no less disastrously in the end, I believe, than the more shocking types of disloyalty.

How may the danger be met? First, federal procedures to test loyalty need revision. The President, I note, has recently instructed the Civil Service Commission to integrate loyalty procedures with other tests of competence. This should be done by establishing methods of selection and removal of employees that will treat political reliability—in its proper sense of loyalty to the United States and democratic values—without special emphasis but also without underrating its importance for certain posts, notably in service abroad and sensitive agencies.

Second, the public owes to individuals under attack, the traditional presumption that they are not guilty until evidence proves their guilt. A commanding officer or an administrative superior should never be the judge of his subordinate on serious charges, and scarcely ever his prosecutor. For morale, the superior should be the person that assures his subordinate of a fair trial. Moreover, the admnistrator is the one who intervenes to prevent foolish proposals and false charges concerning his personnel from ever being publicized.

Let me say a word more about this before I pass to the third necessary remedy. One might expect McCarthy-

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ism to flourish particularly in McCarthy's home state. I don't see that it does. No special procedures to test loyalty have been invented here; no wholesale charges have been broadcast. No legislation comparable to the Broyles bills, which were defeated or vetoed by Governor Stevenson in Illinois, has been introduced in the legislature or in any municipal council, so far as I know, since McCarthy began his loyalty hell-raising in February, 1950. My guess is that McCarthy's performance has found no echo in Wisconsin and is looked upon as a fundamentally dishonest performance, "all malarky," as a leader in the League of Wisconsin Municipalities described it to me. If a respected dean at the university, who knows he can count on strong support from the teachers, privately informs the right regent at the right time that he, the dean, will resign if the regents impose a loyalty oath on the faculty, the proposal probably will never see the light of day. Nipping in the bud by those who know the facts is the best way to defeat attacks on civil liberties, academic freedom, and the morale of public service. In Wisconsin an able though cautious Governor, an opposition party that is not trying to undermine good administration, a labor union of public employees with enlightened leadership have been factors that have saved the state futile disturbances and expenditures and preserved a flexible climate of thought. If some school or library boards have bent to local pressure groups, there has been no widespread surrender. A good mixture of diplomacy and guts can prevent the development of a situation in which McCarthyism is "psychologically inevitable."

Finally, the answer to McCarthyism is to make it unprofitable. The proof of the McCarthy pudding is in the eating. The voters of Wisconsin elected McCarthy six years ago for reasons that had no relation to McCarthyism. They can retire him because he has gone off the beam and achieved nothing but his own notoriety in his six years of disservice. Thus the best repudiation of McCarthyism lies in the power of the Wisconsin voters, aided by the moral and financial support of the larger public affected by McCarthy's false alarms. If the message of McCarthy's disloyalty to truth and decency can be spread to every home, McCarthyism will take a beating that at least will dethrone its prophet and dismay its devotees. I hope it may expunge this ism from our politics and the word from our language.

WHY McCARTHY SHOULD BE REPUDIATED

In soliciting comment on Senator McCarthy from representative men who are opposing him, the editors of The Nation *sought to sound opinion in all parts of the state and in various sections of the population. Contributors were asked not only to give their reasons for opposing McCarthy but also to indicate whether or not they believed the Presidential candidates of both parties should repudiate him.*

George A. Haberman

President of the State Federation of Labor

Milwaukee

As head of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and its 300,000 workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, I have an excellent opportunity to know the feelings of this vast segment of our voting population.

Most federation members, like myself, are opposed to the reelection of Senator McCarthy for these reasons: he has failed to represent the majority of his constituents; he has ruined Wisconsin's fine tradition of excellent United States representation and progressive legislation; he has shamed the people of the state by his unscrupulous methods, his frequent tax troubles, his vicious attacks on defenseless people, and his reputation for engaging in public brawls.

We are not in favor of the reelection of a Senator whose voting record is in opposition to labor on 81.3 per cent of labor bills and in opposition to the public interest on 72.2 per cent of social legislation.

Wisconsin people have been mortified by the numerous articles critical of their junior Senator which have appeared in leading newspapers and magazines. They have been embarrassed by the information that the Senate press gallery in Washington rates him as the "worst Senator" and that the country's political scientists regard him as the "poorest United States Senator" and a "disgrace to the United States Senate." They are contemptuous of a person who makes irresponsible attacks on fellow-citizens while hiding behind his Senatorial immunity. They are distrustful of a public official whose personal integrity has been questioned in many instances.

Because he has placed the good name of Wisconsin in disrepute, Wisconsin labor, like all of the state's citizens who are alerted to Senator McCarthy's reputation and record, regard his defeat as a must.

I believe that both Presidential nominees will serve the interests of the country and of their parties by repudiating McCarthy now.

Ellis H. Dana

Executive Vice-President, Wisconsin Council of Churches

Madison

As a Protestant church leader who is a member of the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on the McCarthy Record, I believe that our junior United States Senator should be defeated because his record shows that (1) he has woefully abused the traditional concept of American justice that no

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man is guilty until proved so beyond any reasonable doubt; (2) he has contributed to the current hysteria, which is largely based on fear and frequently on misunderstandings; (3) he has had little to do with the gathering and presenting of evidence which ultimately led to the conviction of those he accused; (4) he has helped to create groundless suspicions and needless dissensions when unity was never more needed; (5) he has used Congressional immunity in such fashion as to permit the unproved accusation to reach the public while the counter-evidence is suppressed; (5) other than becoming a highly controversial figure in our battle against communism, he has not distinguished himself sufficiently on major issues to recommend his renomination; (6) before entering the Senate, he was publicly condemned for unethical practices as judge and as Senatorial candidate.

McCarthyism has become more than a partisan issue. In the past both Presidential candidates have attacked the things for which the junior Senator from Wisconsin stands, and will no doubt elaborate their position in the current campaign.

McCarthy's record not only calls for his defeat but serves to remind church leaders of all faiths that they have much to do to help the American people think realistically about the problems of communism and of our foreign policy.

Herman Steffes

President, Wisconsin Industrial Union Council (C. I. O.)

Milwaukee

"If Joe McCarthy isn't a Communist, he is cheating them out of dues." I made this statement at the 1951 state C. I. O. convention in Milwaukee, and now I say it again—without Senatorial immunity.

Senator Joseph McCarthy from Wisconsin has probably helped the cause of Joe Stalin more than any other living American. He has shown a political immorality that at times makes even Communists blush. In this free land of ours he has created an atmosphere of hysteria, dissension, and fear.

I have seen both the Communists and Joe McCarthy in action. It wasn't until 1946 that the true trade unionists drove the Communists from the control of the Wisconsin C. I. O.; but by that time the Communists had helped to defeat a great public servant, the liberal Robert M. La Follette, senior Senator from Wisconsin. They contributed to his defeat by indirectly supporting McCarthy, urging the thousands of C. I. O. members in our state to vote against La Follette. McCarthy has not disappointed this scheming clique. His actions on and off the floor of the Senate have tended to destroy our faith in democratic government.

McCarthy's voting record negates every effort that has been designed to stop the growth of world communism. He voted against the Marshall Plan, against giving aid and assistance to governmental plans for stopping communism in Europe. Communism flourishes on social injustice. McCarthy voted to defeat the excess-profits tax. He voted against inflation controls. He voted for the special-interest groups, the tidelands-oil steal, the Kerr natural-gas bill, and the infamous Taft-Hartley act.

It is encouraging to find that many Republicans refuse to traffic with Joe McCarthy, a man whose name is now a synonym for political immorality. Unfortunately there are still those in the G. O. P. ranks who fail to recognize this menace in our midst. They, and Joe McCarthy, would just as soon take over governmental powers by the use of the smear and the lie. It was this kind of Machiavellian politics in Germany that helped usher in the Hitler era.

Carl C. Knudsen

Mayor of the City of Wisconsin Rapids

In central Wisconsin we have many people who came to the United States in search of freedom of thought and opportunity. Behind them they left the methods of the police state—the midnight search, the anonymous informer, the public inquisition. Ahead of them, in America, they knew they could walk down the street and say what they thought, and their countrymen would protect their right to do so. Hitler was no surprise to these people. He was just an extension of the old Prussianism they had left behind, and they were glad to join the crusade that destroyed it.

But today what do they find? This same menace rears its head right in Wisconsin. Our state, which has a great name for liberalism and a great tradition of intellectual freedom, is represented in the United States Senate by a man who has brought to that body the very spirit of the big lie, of individual denunciation, and of character assassination that Hitler used to come to power.

General Eisenhower's army career has been devoted to the defense of this nation against its totalitarian enemies. He has seen the tactics of Hitler and Stalin at first hand. He must recognize the big lie, the intimidation of the press, and guilt by accusation, all practiced by McCarthy. I am sure he will not associate himself with such un-American devices. Governor Stevenson helped build the United Nations and helped develop the Marshall Plan that has been so effective in discouraging the spread of communism in Western Europe. I am sure he will want to leave the combating of Communist infiltration to the able and efficient FBI rather than to self-appointed amateurs, even if they are United States Senators.

I know we can control communism at home and abroad without losing the freedoms that make our country strong and great. McCarthy has not caught any Communists. He has hurt many innocent people. He has not helped Wisconsin. He has hurt its reputation. The voters of Wisconsin have it in their power to eliminate McCarthyism from our political life. When they know the facts about McCarthy's record, I am sure they will repudiate him at the polls and thus rescue Wisconsin's good name and save themselves from the danger in which he has placed them and our American institutions.

Michael Griffin

Prominent Catholic Layman and Civic Leader

Green Bay

Joseph R. McCarthy must be removed from the United States Senate because he represents an evil in this country which, if it develops fully, can stifle that free play of ideas which has made our country great. There are many indications that the evil is growing, not dying. For example, James

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Wechsler is removed from a television program because he once belonged to the Young Communist League, though he has publicly revealed this fact and since has been a militant anti-Communist. Yet men like Whittaker Chambers and Louis Budenz are not only accepted but honored. Another example: while many newspaper editorials have scoffed at McCarthy's charges against General George Marshall, the only leading Republicans to deny these charges have been Paul Hoffman and—just last week-end—General Eisenhower.

The only reason that such ridiculous situations could develop—and there are many, many more examples—is that McCarthyism is creating an unreasoning kind of fear. But if America is to win in the current ideological struggle, we must be free from fear and we must nourish, not stifle, ideas. It seems to me that both Presidential candidates must be aware of that basic fact, and I think they could do a great service if they would unite in a strong condemnation of McCarthy and McCarthyism.

I am convinced that McCarthy began his campaign against subversives in government in the hope that it would make the people of Wisconsin overlook his miserable and appalling record. McCarthy is ruthless and utterly insensitive, but he lacks the shrewdness, the twisted vision, which is necessary to capitalize fully on what he has started. The great present danger is that an American with the capacity of a Mussolini or a Hitler will take over from McCarthy.

William T. Evjue

Editor and Publisher of the Capitol Times

Madison

It is difficult to see how General Eisenhower can avoid repudiating McCarthy in this campaign. If McCarthy's charges are correct, as they are set forth in his book on General Marshall, Eisenhower has engaged in a treasonable conspiracy with Marshall to deliver this country to communism. If McCarthy is right, Dr. Philip Jessup, for whose character and loyalty Eisenhower has vouched, is disloyal.

Perhaps General Eisenhower can ignore McCarthy in forty-seven other states, but here in Wisconsin the people are being asked to vote for both these men. If there is any sense to be made out of the votes the people of Wisconsin cast in the Republican column, McCarthy must repudiate Eisenhower or Eisenhower must repudiate McCarthy.

Aside from that it is hard to believe that the General will fail to speak out against a man whose record is in such shocking disregard of public morality. How can he condone by silence a man who has disgraced the Senate of the United States, who has cynically adopted the big lie as political technique, who has been in repeated trouble with income-tax authorities in his home state, who was charged with "moral turpitude" by the bar of his home state, who received a $10,000 fee from Lustron under peculiar circumstances, and whose note for $20,000 was signed by a big sugar lobbyist under equally peculiar circumstances?

Never have the political standards of this state, once upheld by such great Senators as John C. Spooner, Colonel William Vilas, Irvine Lenroot, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., and John J. Blaine, been brought so low. If Eisenhower does not consider it important to keep political practice above the gutter level of McCarthy, his "new crusade" is off to a shabby start indeed. In Wisconsin the decent, informed, and intelligent citizens are determined that this state has made its last ignoble contribution to the debasement of politics in the nation. That is why McCarthy must be and will be defeated.

Fred R. Zimmerman

Secretary of State of Wisconsin

Madison

It is important to the Republican Party, to the state of Wisconsin, and to the nation that Senator Joseph McCarthy be defeated for reelection this year. The standard of public morality he has come to symbolize must be rejected if our free political institutions are not to be irreparably weakened.

It is as a Republican that I call for his defeat because of the great harm he is doing to the Republican Party. I am a lifelong Republican. I have served as a Republican governor of my state. I am at present the Republican Secretary of State of Wisconsin. I have received more votes for public office than any man in the history of the state. I have consistently led the Republican ticket in votes polled.

I have believed for many months—long before McCarthy began his irresponsible attacks on the State Department—that he was a danger to my party. I could see the gathering storm within the party as McCarthy maneuvered for positions of power and influence. His tactics were the tactics of the totalitarian. His support came from a reckless crowd of bully-boys on the bottom and a few big industrialists at the top. It soon became obvious that his drive for power would tolerate no opposition within the party. It was a drive for a monolithic party in the pattern of the Communists themselves. With the wealthy bosses at the top clearing the way, the McCarthy forces took over the machinery of the Republican Party, forcing all dissenters into brooding silence or reluctant conformity.

A year ago, at the Wisconsin Rapids convention, two delegates, one a member of the Wisconsin legislature and the other a minister, sought to speak against a resolution praising McCarthy. They were booed down, refused the right to speak on the floor of the convention.

Governor Walter Kohler was quick to speak out against these totalitarian tactics and continued from time to time to show some resistance to the McCarthy juggernaut. But eventually he gave up the fight and collapsed. He is now campaigning for McCarthy in exchange for the indorsement of the machine which backs McCarthy.

I have refused to bow to this crowd. I have chosen to make my fight against the bosses as old Governor Walter Goodland made it in 1946, when they sought to control him and failed. Because I have refused to swallow McCarthyism, the Republican convention this year refused to indorse me for reelection. I am the only Republican incumbent in a state constitutional office to whom an indorsement was refused. The party has indorsed against me a young, unknown attorney who has never sought office on the Republican ticket before.

The bosses of the party, of course, were doubly irked at me because of my stand for General Dwight D. Eisenhower

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and against Senator Taft for the Republican Presidential nomination. I was for General Eisenhower before Chicago and I am for him now. Because I have refused to go along with the McCarthy crowd in their charges that General Marshall is a traitor and that General Eisenhower condoned Marshall's treason, I am faced with the most critical political contest of my long career of over twenty years as a Republican office-holder.

The power and the money of the McCarthy organization are arrayed against me. But I welcome the fight. If I win I shall continue to fight for standards of decency within the Republican Party which McCarthy has been trying to kill off. If the fight to retain these standards is lost, it will be far better that I do not hold office as a Republican, for the party will have raised a banner to which no American worthy of the name can repair.

What is at stake in the Republican Party of Wisconsin today is decency and democracy. My victory or defeat is not of any great significance. The victory or defeat of McCarthy will make the difference between the Republican Party of Wisconsin being a party of which free men can be proud or a party in which free men cannot exist.

Francis H. Wendt

Attorney, Treasurer of the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on the McCarthy Record

Racine

I believe that Senator McCarthy should be defeated because he has violated the great traditions of Wisconsin. We are all deeply concerned with the danger of aggressive communism, and it is vitally important that our government guard against sabotage and espionage by disloyal Americans. That task is properly assigned to the FBI, the Loyalty Board, the Appeal Board, and all the other investigating and prosecuting agencies. To resort to the policies and methods which have characterized McCarthy's career actually weakens us from within by destroying public confidence and confuses the free nations whose cooperation we seek.

Wisconsin should be represented by men of unimpeachable moral character, which I cannot find in a man who was compelled by the Wisconsin Tax Commission to pay a large sum of delinquent income taxes; who was voted by the American Political Science Association to be "the poorest Senator" and by Washington correspondents the "worst Senator"; who was censured by the Wisconsin Supreme Court for destroying evidence in an important case in which he sat as a judge; who accepted $10,000 from a private corporation while, as a Senator, he was serving on a committee and passing on policies of a federal agency which loaned millions of dollars to that corporation; who was charged with moral turpitude by the Board of State Bar Commissioners investigating his conduct in Wisconsin; who secured a commission in the armed forces and then left the service while the war was at its height to come back to Wisconsin and play politics.

Whether both Presidential nominees should repudiate McCarthy now is another matter. The people of Wisconsin elected him without outside help, and he is our responsibility. I doubt whether General Eisenhower's condemnation of McCarthy would be resented less by the people of Wisconsin than the condemnation by Stevenson of the Democratic candidates in South Carolina or Georgia would be resented by the people of those states. Personally, I hope that Eisenhower sticks to a constructive program of what he believes best for America, and leaves our problem child to us.

Harold M. Groves

Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin

Madison

On the positive side, Senator McCarthy's record is singularly devoid of achievement. On the negative side it shows an attempt to terrorize the civil service and the press that is totalitarian in its technique and in its consequences. We face a difficult task in preventing communism plus McCarthyism from destroying human rights both at home and abroad. We need to recover some of the judicial attitude and the calm loyalty to our best traditions that the British have shown in their similar trials. Repudiation of McCarthy at the polls would help enormously toward this end.

Norman M. Clapp

Editor and Publisher of the Grant County Independent

Lancaster

The peace of the world and the survival of our way of life are at stake in the conduct of our foreign policy. It is a time when clear thinking and steady nerves are absolutely essential. Senator McCarthy has contributed to neither. His utterly irresponsible charges of communism in the federal government have both confused and alarmed millions of sincere Americans who are naturally concerned over the security of our country and the integrity of our government.

Honest criticism is one of the sources of ultimate strength in a democracy. Evildoers and subversive influences must ever be rooted out of places of trust. Senator McCarthy has contributed nothing to getting this job done. In fact, he has on occasions threatened to impair the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as in the controversy over opening the government's security files.

Generally the effect of McCarthy's reckless and irresponsible charges has been to produce confusion, unjustly discredit responsible representatives of American policy abroad, and stir up a type of hysteria at home which has threatened to paralyze American policy in this time of crisis. The demagogue who wittingly or unwittingly seeks to play politics with our country's uneasy relations with the other powers of the world in the hair-trigger atmosphere of today is just as dangerous to the security of America as the most subversive Communist.

This is an issue that transcends party lines. Senator McCarthy and all his evil works should be repudiated by every patriotic and thinking American. That goes for the leaders of both political parties and their nominees for the Presidency. Senator McCarthy is a Republican. It is comparatively easy for the Democratic Party and its standard-bearers to speak out openly on the McCarthy record. The pressure of party loyalty and party regularity will be tremendous within Republican ranks to avoid any such repudiation of Mc-

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Carthyism, but that fact makes a forthright declaration from General Eisenhower himself all the more important.

There can be no crusade to restore decency in government that carries Senator McCarthy and his methods along as part of its baggage.

Dr. Manfred Swarsensky

Rabbi of Beth El Temple

Madison

As a religious leader I refrain, as a rule, from taking a partisan political position. Like other congregations my own consists of individuals with varying points of view. I cannot speak for them.

The issue of McCarthyism, however, transcends the confines of party politics; it has become one of ethics and morals. When the quality of justice is strained and truth perverted, those who feel a commitment to the spiritual values upon which our American civilization is founded must speak out lest their silence be judged assent and their neutrality become complicity.

Needless to say, as a religious leader I am unalterably opposed to communism. However, I do not believe that the advance of communism can be stopped by bombs, bombast, and bullying. The General Conference of the Methodist Church at its session this summer in San Francisco pointed to the fact that the present world-wide conflict is part of a social revolution sweeping the globe. The misery in which one-half of the world's population lives can only be resolved by a positive program which will eventually enable these peoples to help themselves.

McCarthyism, by its methods and tactics, betrays an appalling lack of understanding of the real issues involved at this juncture in history. Under the pretense of serving the cause of American democracy, in actuality it destroys the fabric of a free society by introducing the methods of totalitarian regimes. If the methods of the police state are to be introduced in this country, Stalin will conquer America without firing a shot.

McCarthyism has become a symbol of the surrender of our democratic rights. It is therefore incumbent upon the two Presidential candidates, who in their hands hold the hope of the American people and of the world, that they repudiate the candidacy of Senator Joseph McCarthy now. He is a discredit not only to the state of Wisconsin but to the American people.

T. Parry Jones

Minister and Supporter of the Citizens' Committee on the McCarthy Record

Sheboygan

Senator Joe McCarthy is a pleasant person. He can be ingratiating and as friendly as a puppy. He has the gift of disarming his critics. But attractive as this personal quality is, it does not qualify him to be a United States Senator. America, now committed to a major part in the world drama, must have only the best leadership in its legislative halls.

On the basis of the record, Senator McCarthy does not qualify. His irresponsible statements have created a witch hunt which has led many innocent people to suffer for the guilty. In his bid for national recognition he has been willing to trample upon any who oppose him. Every liberal idea, or any opposition to his program, is *per se* inspired by communism. There are only two classes of people in America, if one is to believe the Senator: those who accept his program without question, and the Communists.

This alone is enough to disqualify a man for the Senate. But there is more. There is the story of his tax difficulties. And no amount of rationalization can make the $10,000 Lustron Corporation check become a genuine payment for a book on housing. If this is not enough, how about the pernicious dangers to a free America represented by a United States Senator who threatens to carry out a boycott against a publication which is critical of his legislative methods?

There was a day when Wisconsin ranked high in the forty-eight states for the type of leadership that represented it at Washington; because I covet for Wisconsin representation worthy of its fine record I am taking this position in opposition to my friend Joe McCarthy. And in view of this record it does not seem possible that either Democrats or Republicans can afford to put their stamp of approval upon Mr. McCarthy for Senator.

Theodore R. Kurtz

Secretary, Wisconsin Industrial Union Council (C. I. O.)

Milwaukee

I consider my vote for a United States Senator, or any elective office, as of utmost importance. In each instance I ask myself—has the candidate served the best interests of my country, my state, and my community? Has he recognized the needs of *all* our people; has he made a contribution to better understanding of world problems; has he been willing to combat oppressive communism by advancing the methods of democracy?

Senator McCarthy's record answers "no" to each of my questions. His votes against inflation controls, housing, equitable taxation and anti-trust legislation indicate his opposition to the welfare of our country. His vote for restrictive labor laws and against the minimum wage shows he is no friend of the working people. He continually votes for and with special-privilege interests rather than public interests.

His self-serving antics on the question of his anti-communism "crusade" have made mockery of sincere attempts to eradicate this monstrosity. If he were seriously interested in stopping communism, it is logical to presume he would have voted for measures designed to destroy it. He has done the opposite. His vote was *against* the Point Four program, *against* the Benton European aid amendment to encourage the development of free trade unions, *for* the vicious Dirksen amendment which would have seriously crippled our European aid program. Although India is menaced by communism, and is intelligently resisting it, he voted against aid to this stricken country.

McCarthy has bred intolerance and distrust. His words say he is anti-Communist. His actions belie his words. He does not measure up to the standards of decency and statesmanship we have a right to expect.

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Johnson City, Tennessee

The Theater Needs a Dream

BY HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS

Ten drachs for faggots and pine wood to burn as a sacrifice to Apollo at the new moon
One drach five for a jug to cleanse the theater
Ten drachs for barley to feed to the geese
Three drachs for torches for the dancing troupe from Siphynos
Five drachs for torches for the dancing girl from Cos

THESE lines are part of the accounts carved in stone on the wall of the theater at Delos in the fifth century B. C. The inscription ends on a gloomy note: "This theater business all costs money."

Fortunately, "angels" were plentiful in Greece, though their gifts were not always useful. Gonatos of Macedon gave a hundred marble bulls mounted on columns. The Ptolemies sent a row of sphinxes for the avenue leading to the theater. The Athenian general, Nikias, spent ten thousand drachmas to stage his own show and act the leading part. A whirlpool makes it difficult to approach Delos from Athens; Nikias built a bridge of boats, linked them with silver, overlaid them with tapestries, filled them with priests, sand diviners, and dancing girls. All very fine, but one can imagine the cost of upkeep and the groans of the business manager.

There was also the tax situation. Because Apollo was born in Delos he had a right to levy taxes. Perhaps the theater did not mind paying taxes to the god—after all, everything it had came from him—but to be taxed by Athens was another matter. The Delians met the Athenian tax collectors in the market place, fought them, and drove them back to their ships.

So it was the same story centuries ago—rising costs, taxes, recurrent need for money or angels. Everyone grumbled, but the theater went right on. Possibly this was because, as the building accounts make clear, they "let out these works on the vote of the people." Possibly it was because Greek plays were good, good enough to last two thousand years.

Money will always be a problem in the theater, but it is not the chief problem. Consider the theater in England, where money today is certainly more difficult to find than in this country. Until recently England listened unmoved to comments about its lack of a national theater. Then it made a discovery: "The arts are a necessary part of everyday life to be maintained in all weathers, and not merely a luxury for the rich in time of leisure." For a hundred years people had been trying to bring the British government to this point of view. Matthew Arnold and Henry Irving were spirited advocates of a national theater in the sixties; among later crusaders were Thomas Hardy, Granville Barker, Bernard Shaw, and Gordon Craig. The British Drama League was founded in 1918 to give to their endeavors a habitation and a name. During the last war the Committee for Encouraging Art and Music had the daring to include the theater with the other arts.

In 1946 the King set up the Arts Council of Great Britain "to develop a greater knowledge, understanding, and practice of the fine arts; . . . to increase the accessibility of the fine arts to the public; . . . to improve the standard of execution of the fine arts; and to advise and cooperate with government departments, local authorities, and other bodies on any matters concerned directly or indirectly with these objects." This statement of purpose sounds somewhat like that of our own American National Theater and Academy. Congress, however, having given ANTA a charter, thought apparently that the organization could raise the necessary money; whereas the British Arts Council, once convinced that the theater was necessary to the people, voted a government subsidy of more than $1,000,000, a sum which has been steadily increased every year since.

From the first, the Council moved in the most practical manner, working through nine regional offices, which in turn worked through panels of experts in various localities. Established theaters, professional and amateur, were encouraged to remain centers of dramatic activity and, when it was necessary, were allotted funds to supplement, but not to supplant, funds from other sources. Grants were made to improve the caliber of productions, to repair buildings, or to enlarge them to include a hall for concerts or art exhibits. The members of the Council realized that the arts gain strength from working together. Provincial theaters applying for funds were carefully studied so that mediocre work or over-ambitious plans should not be encouraged, but there was a definite realization that a community theater in a small town in Scotland was as much a part of a national theater as the company playing in the new building near Waterloo Bridge where Shakespeare's Globe once stood.

As for results: Ernest Pooley, chairman of the Arts Council, could say in his report for 1951:

Dangers and anxieties continue to beset Great Britain; yet, in this year of many shadows, there has been more

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HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS, professor of drama and director of the Smith Theater at Smith College, headed the Federal Theater in 1935-39. This is the last of three articles on "cultural attrition" in the United States.

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good art and music to be seen and heard in this country than ever before. The public has shown, by hundreds of thousands, that it has a keen and growing appetite for the serious pleasures, and we hope for an increasing recognition of that fact by Parliament and local authorities, in whom is now vested the major responsibility for the patronage of the arts.

WHAT have these two theaters—the one which existed centuries ago in Greece, and the one which is coming into being in Great Britain—to do with the theater in the United States today? Nothing, if we are content to regard the theater here as a gamble on entertainment, a succession of hits and flops originating on Broadway and copied *ad nauseam* by community, college, and summer theaters. However, I do not think we are going to be content with that. Admittedly the theater in this country has its faults. Distinguished critics have declared that it is both adolescent and obsolescent; that Broadway spends vast sums to stage plays that are vacuous and vulgar if not false and decadent, while money cannot be found for the excellent small companies; that television is draining off stage talent; that themes of vital interest are avoided because no dramatist wants to risk being investigated by the Un-American Activities Committee or by self-appointed witch-hunters; that plays on the issues of our time cannot be written because dramatists can only reflect the confusion and weaknesses of our society.

But the theater has a credit side also. We have in Broadway at its best a technically excellent and opulent theater, especially in musical comedy not based on European models. We have dance in an increasingly expert, caustic, and witty form. We have remarkable acting talent; a few superlative directors, original, dynamic, and subtle; designers able to collaborate with such directors; a number of accomplished dramatists interesting themselves in the work of young writers for the stage. We are discovering opera; we are listening responsively to poetry on the stage.

Our college, community, and summer theaters must also be listed among our assets. They have their weaknesses—social cliques in the community playhouse, overemphasis on stars and exploiting of apprentices in the summer theaters, reluctance to experiment in college theaters. But our national theater needs their characteristic virtues, as it does the contribution of such fine regional theaters as those in Dallas, Cleveland, Pasadena, and other cities.

How can these various theaters be brought together in a nation-wide plan? The logical way is through the American National Theater and Academy, to which Congress assigned the task of mobilizing the entire American theater. It is true that up to now ANTA seems to have been occupied chiefly with the New York scene, but its potential scope in much wider. Precedent for a nation-wide theater can be found in the Federal Theater of 1935-39, which was organized primarily to use the talents of unemployed artists. This theater, in spite of much official red tape, gave many talented dramatists, actors, designers, and directors a chance, tried out new techniques, and provided millions of people with their first opportunity to see a play enacted on a stage. It should not and could not be revived, but it will inevitably serve as a model for any new nation-wide theater.

While the Federal Theater had many faults, timidity was not one of them. Its writers lived on an inadequate wage which might be snatched away at any moment, but in spite of their insecurity, when they had something to say they said it. "Ethiopia," the first "Living Newspaper," was closed by the State Department lest it give offense to Mussolini. Did this act of censorship destroy the Living Newspaper? "Power," "Triple A Plowed Under," and "One Third of a Nation" give the answer. On the other hand, it must be remembered that Con-

Thurber on the Theater

The following has been extracted from an article by James Thurber, author and playwright, which appeared in the New York *Times* of July 27:

. . . the American theater is lying at death's door largely because of the Congressional probe of playwrights, among other writers, which began five years ago and seems likely to go on forever.

An investigation of writers that takes five years, let alone forever, stands out as more of a political device than a patriotic endeavor. . . .

The constant open season on writers has seriously depressed literature in America. . . . There have been other factors to deject us, to be sure, from the depression to the atom bomb and television, but the wholesale contrived distrust of Americans by Americans has been the strongest ingredient of our desperation. The commercialized, ritualistic defamation of liberals with talent . . . would be fatal to our entire civilization if it went on forever, or for even fifty years.

America is surely coming to realize that the vast majority of American writers are not Communists and never have been Communists, but we have been politically rigged out of a chance to prove this.

Where accusation has lost its mind and suspicion has become the victim of persecution complex, it is hard for the creative writer, humorous or otherwise, to accomplish anything.

Playwrights may come out of hiding and start working happily again if they hear the old reassuring sound of America laughing; but if the subpoenas for Hellman and Odets are the beginning of an endless probe of Broadway, then the American theater cannot be saved and will die.

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gress's decision to end the Federal Theater was the direct result of the fact that the Dies committee investigating its alleged un-American activities refused to see or read the plays under discussion and refused to allow any official of the organization to testify until the case had been tried for months in the newspapers. Whether anything the project accomplished for the theater compensated for the sufferings of the people connected with it is a question I have never been able to answer.

However, I am certain of one thing: for the brief period of its existence the Federal Theater afforded those of us fortunate enough to work on it what William James once called the "moral equivalent of war." Belief in something more important than any of us was the driving force behind the Federal Theater.

Our theater today, whether commercial, community, or college, needs such a focus: the desire to interpret the United States to other countries might serve. (The excellent magazine *World Theater*, sponsored by UNESCO, has a similar purpose.) In such a project college theaters might be given the task of reading plays with this subject in mind. Community theaters might be urged to put on festivals like Paul Green's "The Lost Colony" and "The Common Glory." Such celebrations are already being held in many states, and in a few years one may be able to travel across the country seeing the history of each section re-created.

The greatest need is not for money from the state, the federal government, or the private angel. If the idea of a theater—its plan, vision, dream, or whatever you went to call it—is real enough and big enough, money will be found.

Report on Tunis—I

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Tunis

WHEN you fly from Paris to Tunis via Nice, you scarcely feel that North Africa is overseas at all. If France were to lose Indo-China or, say, Madagascar, few Frenchmen would feel that one of the country's limbs had been amputated, but North Africa is different. To most people, especially to those who have never been there, North Africa is a "natural extension" of France. In the recent debate on Tunisia in the National Assembly every party with the exception of the Communists—who as a matter of principle talked of the coming "independence of colonial peoples"—argued for what it considered the most effective way of *keeping* North Africa. For the Socialists the best and safest way to keep it was to be generous with the Arabs; for the right, the best way was to be exceedingly tough. Paul Reynaud said that France would leave the U. N. rather than surrender North Africa. François Quilici, deputy from Algeria, who obviously represented the extremist North African colonials and civil servants, went almost so far as to propose a "federation of all the French of North Africa"; he even favored something remarkably like the Malan policy of separatism in South Africa, if no other solution "fully safeguarding France's rights" could be found.

The question whether two Tunisian worlds—the European world of French business men and *fonctionnaires*, with their troops and police, and the Moslem world, with its vaguely Kemalist nationalism, its polished but more or less anti-French intellectuals, its fiery Habib Bourguiba exiled to an island off Bizerta, its jails crowded with "trouble-makers"—can go on living together has become, both to the French and to their Arab subjects and protégés everywhere, the biggest problem of today. The Tunisians have twice attempted to place their demands before the United Nations, claiming that the situation is a threat to international peace. Both times the Americans and British have rallied to the support of the French and kept the matter off the agenda. The Tunisians' third opportunity will come when the U. N. Assembly meets again on October 4. They will be supported by a bloc of thirteen Asian and Arab countries.

The French are resolved to keep North Africa not only for sentimental and economic reasons—big capital is deeply involved there—but also for imperialist reasons. Rightly or wrongly they believe their interests are in conflict with the unconscious or semi-conscious imperialism of the United States. "America is ostensibly against colonialism," a French official in Tunis said to me. "But in reality she is anxious to find new markets at the expense of her allies—not to mention her unhealthy strategic interest in North Africa; Morocco, with its American penetration, is only a beginning." And it is a fact that Tunisian nationalists and trade unions have chosen the United States, not without encouragement, as their defender against French imperialism. Some Neo-Destour (Independence Party) leaders have admitted to me, however, that this is "chiefly tactics."

It is the 150,000 Frenchmen, living among 3,000,000 Tunisians, who, Frenchmen insist, have "turned a backward Ottoman province into a Garden of Eden." The

ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *correspondent in Paris, recently visited Tunisia. This is the first of a two-part report.*

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French also point to the 10,000 government officials who have sent down deep roots in the country: "These people can't all be thrown to the dogs." And they produce not unimpressive tables showing that the standard of living and health and education is a good deal higher in Tunisia than in the countries of the Asian-Arab bloc that have so unscrupulously been defiling the fair name of France at the U. N. The population question is further complicated by a Jewish community of 80,000 and an equally large Italian group; the Jews, though afraid to side openly with the French, know that the moment France hands control over to the Arabs they will suffer the same victimization as the Jews in Libya.

The French emphasize the efficiency of their government officials. They say the technical *cadres* they have supplied must stay, whatever happens, because the Arabs, though they often make good lawyers and doctors, are congenitally incapable of becoming good administrators or engineers. This is of course a "racialist" argument that is particularly resented by the Tunisians. Even in the latest Schuman proposals the lion's share of good jobs is to go to the French—at least for a long time.

Tunisia has a colonial economy, and the French are reluctant to abandon it. The best lands in the north belong to the French *colons,* who acquired them by hook or by crook. The mineral wealth, especially the great phosphate deposits in the south, and most of the industrial equipment are owned by French big business. The basis of the Tunisian economy is cheap labor. While it costs a farmer in France nearly $3 a day to employ a farm laborer, the *colon* pays only one-quarter as much.

IT IS hard to imagine what Tunisia would be like without the French. It is they who form the country's economic and administrative framework. The ideas of the Bey, of the various princes, of the few large Tunisian landowners, of the Neo-Destour leaders, of the "man in the street," of Ferhad Hached, leader of the Tunisian Trade Union Federation (U. G. T. T.), seem to lack all unity of purpose or direction. Practically all the Neo-Destour leaders are of bourgeois origin and have had a French education. Most of them are extremely traditionalist. Their ideas on social reform are not far advanced. Ferhad Hached will tell you that land reform is essential, complete with the splitting up of the large estates, both French and Tunisian, and that Tunisia will not be, like Egypt, a pasha plutocracy. In the discussions with France, however, it has been tacitly admitted that, whatever political reforms may be agreed upon, the economic and financial position of French nationals is to be treated as sacrosanct.

If among the Neo-Destour and U. G. T. T. intellectuals there is some desire to follow the example of Kemal and modernize the country, it comes up against a strong religious traditionalism. The emancipation of women is still in a rudimentary stage. A characteristic feature of Tunisian life is the Great Mosque of Tunis with its educational annexes, where 14,000 children and young men receive a Koranic education of mighty little use in any modern state. Equally typical of Tunisian traditionalism are the thousands of acres of land belonging to Moslem religious communities and institutions and exceedingly badly cultivated if at all.

Nevertheless—and this is an important fact, almost unique in the Moslem world—the Trade Union Federation does exist and has 80,000 members, as against 10,000 in the Communist federation. It includes all kinds of labor except farm workers, whom neither the French nor the Tunisian landlords allow to belong to a union. But it is scarcely a trade-union federation in the modern sense; as the French have often observed, U. G. T. T. members will strike against French employers but not against Moslem. The organization receives support from the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. through the International Council of Free Trade Unions, a connection greatly resented by the French because it permits the Tunisian trade unions to send to the outside world highly unfavorable reports on French policy.

The U. G. T. T. has called numerous political strikes. It works in close contact with the Neo-Destour Party and is considered as important a political weapon as the nation-wide network of Neo-Destour cells, organized much as are Communist Party cells elsewhere. One often hears U. G. T. T. or Neo-Destour members say that their immediate task is political, and that once it is done, they will turn to social and economic tasks.

Although the French claim to have done a good deal for Tunisian health and education, Tunisian nationalists have little difficulty in showing that the results are pretty trifling, even if the situation is much worse in, say, Iraq, Iran, or Pakistan. One French reply to such criticism is that when a Tunisian does train to be a doctor, he is careful to settle down in Tunis and let French civilian and army doctors do the dirty work out in the desert.

The Tunisians are used to the French and recognize their efficiency and cultural prestige. It is probable, therefore, that a *modus vivendi* would be possible if the French made allowances for the great changes that Destour influence has brought about in the thinking of the Tunisian people in the last twenty years. A good many Tunisians, even those who belong to the Neo-Destour Party, say they are willing to "go on living with the French" but find it increasingly difficult. If, as many Frenchmen insist, the Arab is fundamentally a racialist who would throw the French out just as readily as the Jews, it is perhaps even truer that the French have themselves been frightened into a kind of racialism.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Wicked Uncle

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF STALIN. By Louis Fischer. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

OLD map-makers used to leave a great blank in Africa or Central Asia and write across it, "Here be monsters." That is the best we can do about Soviet Russia. We know nothing. We do not know how its government works, whether there is any discussion at the top, how well or ill informed its rulers are. We do not know whether the Soviet people are smoldering with revolt or just grumbling mildly, like everyone else. We know more about ancient Egypt than about Moscow in 1952. Mr. Fischer lived in Russia for fourteen years, but he is no better off than the rest of us. He has rubbed up a few old memories, picked out the leading passages from Churchill and others, added a good deal of general invective, and then hoped for the best. Anyone who wishes to be convinced that Stalin is a wicked man with no redeeming features will read this book with pleasure; and the verdict is just as likely to be correct as the Soviet presentation of Stalin the demi-god. They both set up a wooden image. One worships it; the other knocks it down. Stalin the man is not to be seen, and for a simple reason: so far as the record goes he does not exist.

Mr. Fischer writes clearly and forcefully, almost too forcefully. He makes at the end a wise judgment: "The maintenance of international peace and a mounting living standard for all would demonstrate the superiority of the free world"; and he thinks that political tyranny inside Russia would relax if international tension were lessened. All men of liberal mind must put their money on this hope, though it is nowhere near a certainty—Franco manages very well without any external danger. At any rate, any lessening of international tension would be welcome in itself; and anything contributes to this which increases understanding. Here Mr. Fischer's book does not succeed. There is no more understanding at the end than at the beginning. Stalin can do nothing right. If he makes a pact with the Nazis, he is betraying democratic civilization; if he fights the Nazis, he is out to conquer the world. Yet it was not Stalin who said in 1940: "If we want to keep out of this war, the longer we keep the British going, that much longer we stay out of this war." Again, if Stalin plans "socialism in one country," that is abandoning the revolution; if he encourages communism elsewhere, that shows how dangerous he is. So far as program and policy go, just as black a case could be made against any other statesman who has ever looked after the interest of his country and his party. Stalin's method is a different matter. Political tyranny and the secret police are evils without excuse or palliation; and they are probably worse now in Soviet Russia than they have ever been in any country in recorded history. But liberals, unlike Communists, ought to hold the balance; and it is no crime for Stalin to want either to stay in power or to make his country the greatest in the world. Only he must not expect us to agree with him.

The greatest defect of Mr. Fischer's book is on the economic side. There is nothing original in Stalin's maneuvers as a party boss—only more ruthlessness. There is nothing original in his diplomacy; it is old balance-of-power stuff. But in the last twenty-five years Russia has developed an industrial revolution, and this was largely Stalin's doing. It is also the one part of recent Russian history that we can get to know if we take the trouble. The figures are there; they can be broken up and analyzed. No reader of this book can discover what the five-year plans amount to, even if he notices that they existed. Yet they are the only thing that matters if we are to increase our understanding of Soviet Russia.

The title of Mr. Fischer's book also promises too much. He does not announce that Stalin is dead; he does not even know how he will die. He speculates vaguely on who will succeed him. He backs Molotov as figurehead, with Malenkov, the secretary of the party, controlling him; and one step back, Beria, head of the secret police, controlling Malenkov. The guess is plausible. But it is of little moment. The Soviet system depends on its institutions, not on its men; and even Stalin does not now amount to much in it. It is a hateful system and, so far as political maneuvers go, a very clumsy one, but before writing it off we should bear in mind that it is an effective system for manufacturing power. All men in public life want power; and Stalin has been more skilful than most in getting it.

A. J. P. TAYLOR

Recruits for a Dictator

THE RED CARNATION. By Elio Vittorini. Translated by Anthony Bower. New Directions. $3.

IN THIS story of a young Sicilian student, Alessio Mainardi, we have the education, sentimental, academic, and political, of an Italian middle-class youth who was coming of age at the same time as Fascism. The flexed muscle, the pugnacious attitude which characterize untried virility had their counterpart, a hideously painful one, in the Matteotti crime, which rent Italian public opinion a decade before Vittorini wrote this book—it was printed in Italy in 1933 but withdrawn from circulation because it was not acceptable to the regime.

The crime itself has about as much impact on young Mainardi's conscience as it would have had on an adolescent in remote Palermo or Catania; yet its mark shadows the story and the protagonist's life. Mainardi is coaxed by his immature need to "belong," to do the things his "set" is doing, into taking part in a Fascist-promoted student strike against the faculty and in particular against those members of the local hierarchy who after the bludgeoning of the deputy, Matteotti, have been inclined to say that "those Fascist fellows have really gone too far this time." But the young boy's dream is to love and be loved by a school friend, Giovanna, whose family is not, it seems, convinced that the Fascists are in the saddle to

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stay and right in the methods they are using to get a firm seat. The vacillating, unsure, and transparently honest boy writes in his diary: "I nearly had a fight on Saturday with the boys from the third year. They took me for a pro-Matteotti—imagine—and I almost wanted to say that I was, so I could stay on the side of my [girl] in every possible way." Of such stuff is political conviction formed!

The political references are not numerous enough to overload the story. But Vittorini, far less adept at this stage than he became later, does not manage to clarify his symbolism. As a result the book lacks some of the lucidity of "In Sicily," "The Simplon Winks at the Fréjus," and the still-untranslated "Women of Messina." But in "The Red Carnation," a sensitive study of adolescence in a period of moral decay, he tells a moving story, nevertheless.

Vittorini's adolescent will surely be compared—and probably to his disadvantage—with Moravia's brace of youngsters in "Two Adolescents" and Jean-Baptiste Rossi's tremulous man-child in "Awakening." Though less spectacular than those books, Vittorini's has perhaps the surest grasp on the problems besetting the "average" boy: *romantic yearnings* ("I love her! I love her! I said inside me, and I did not know about whom I was saying it"); *uncertainty about the future* ("There's no kind of life that doesn't appear attractive and you suddenly get anxious to begin, even if it's only an accountant's life . . ."); *sex*—quite different at times and yet so easily the same as the romantic yearnings ("What could I have with her [the prostitute with the exotic and flamboyant name, Zobeida]? Only to throw myself at her feet? Only to worship her and recognize that she was a goddess?"); *ambivalence toward the parents* ("We had grown up thinking that we were better than father and mother, with an acute sense of belonging to another generation," and later "At this point my father turned, and suddenly the reproachful glance of his pale eyes fell on me, driving me back to the domain from which there was no other escape but wickedness and disobedience. All the rest of that vacation I was wicked and disobedient as never before. The following year I met T. and I joined the Fascists out of antipathy for the kind of socialism from which my father . . . derived"). As the novel has body, a real boy battles with the real problems appropriate to his nationality and economic-educational level. Reading Mainardi's story makes the attitudes of so many upper-middle-class men in their thirties who passed from Fascism to the Allied side during the war seem less supine, more explicable.

The translation is on the whole good, though it is occasionally too literal: "Flunk after flunk, I deserve a good punishment, isn't that so?" while perfectly exact, is also awkward and rings false in English. And it suffers throughout from "like" used for "as," this unfortunate locution presumably adding the "genuine spoken-American" flavor to Mainardi's Sicilian chatter.

"The Red Carnation" is not first-rate Vittorini by any means, but its painstaking and accurate analysis is very much to the point at a time when increasing numbers of youngsters—twenty years later than Vittorini's Mainardi—are searching for the strong word, the flexed muscle. The author himself has written: "One problem with which the book concerns itself is the dangerous inclination, existing again today, of the young to feel guilty, insufficient, incapable of acting with decision or of realizing their potentialities. They come to want some . . . dictatorship which will decide for them. . . ." Vittorini's work casts the light of his reflection and experience on this basic problem.

FRANCES KEENE

The Single Standard

SOUTH OF FREEDOM. By Carl T. Rowan. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

IF I have said nothing new, perhaps I have said it in a different way that will bring something to the makings of men," writes Carl T. Rowan in the foreword of his first book. "If this be impossible," he continues, "I still hope that the old things I have written will produce new understanding among millions of Americans who know so little about the problem." Perhaps Mr. Rowan has said nothing new about one of the nation's most grievous problems—the so-called Negro problem. Perhaps, even, there is little novelty in the way he has said it. Yet "South of Freedom" is a book every American should read.

Mr. Rowan is a Negro. He has experienced, in a hundred different ways, the emotional hell that harasses Negroes simply because they are Negroes. Undoubtedly as a reporter for a metropolitan daily newspaper, the Minneapolis *Tribune,* Mr. Rowan has also had a taste of what we call equality of opportunity. As a result he is a discerning analyst of our schizophrenic democratic personality. His book is based on a 6,000-mile tour through the South in 1951 and is an enlargement of a series of articles that appeared in the *Tribune.* This series, incidentally, was the most provocative in the newspaper's history and elicited an unprecedented amount of mail.

To those inclined toward a cowardly, queasy outlook on the issue of Negro rights today, Mr. Rowan's scalpel-like report will not bring much comfort. All the sorry ingredients of second-class citizenship—segregation, personal humiliation, physical peril, stereotype characterizations, economic exploitation, intermarriage taboos, Jim Crow paradoxes—are here incisively diagnosed. Segregation, Mr. Rowan declares, is the South's god. Some white Southerners are willing to admit that the Negro's life and opportunities are not the same as the white man's. But few if any, in his opinion, will concede that segregation itself is a basic cause of the existing injustices. He writes: "If justice is possible under enforced segregation, the burden of proof now is on the South. The South knows it, and the turmoil and social upheaval to which enlightened Southerners point is simply the uneasy, defensive stir created by the knowledge of this burden."

Mr. Rowan returned to his native McMinnville, Tennessee, scene of boyhood frustrations. There he recalled the days when he and his companions swam in the muddy Barren Forks River. A half-mile upstream from their favorite rendezvous was the city swimming pool, where "whites frolicked in blue, chlorinated water." Herein lies one of the most delicate fundamentals of race relations in the South—and the rest of the nation. "The white men of McMinnville," says Rowan, "thought they were 'protecting Southern white womanhood' by barring us from the pool. And though it seemed silly to a few guys who simply loved to swim, we knew

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that as long as 'Southern white womanhood' frequented the pool, our chances of swimming there were slim indeed."

Surely the most exasperating discrimination encountered by Negroes is found in Washington. The nation's capital should be a shining symbol of democracy. But it isn't. In many ways Jim Crow is more of a fixation there than in the cities of the deep South. One of the first lessons in racial ABC's for Rowan was that he was not welcome at a white hotel in Washington, though he had been twice assured by telephone that a reservation was being held for him.

Certainly, as Mr. Rowan reports, changes are taking place in the South. Now more than 1,000,000 Negroes vote there. More than 1,000 Negro students attend professional and graduate schools in hitherto lily-white state-supported colleges and universities. White students demonstrated how they stood on the issue by smashing Jim Crow signs on the campus of the University of Oklahoma at Norman. And others in the South are willing to stand up and be counted on the race question, for instance, Judge J. Waties Waring, a federal jurist, who freed Negroes from political chains by sweeping aside the white primary conducted by the South Carolina Democratic Party.

Such actions give reason for hope, but they are not enough. And it is significant that more has been accomplished toward the breaking down of barriers by judicial and political pressures than by the innate goodness of men's hearts. And when individuals of tough moral fiber like the Warings and the Lillian Smiths express the courage of their convictions they are dubbed superliberals and face social crucifixion. They too find the going rough. For making real an inherent constitutional right for Negroes, Judge Waring was termed a traitor to the cause of white supremacy; he was ostracized by whites in Charleston, and recently he and his wife left the South.

In discussing the ticklish issue of communism and the Negro, Mr. Rowan cites the pathetic case of Willie McGee, the Laurel, Mississippi, Negro who was given the kiss of death by the Communists. McGee was executed in May, 1951, for the alleged rape of a white woman. Communists, Rowan remarks, bled the "last drop of propaganda" from this case of one-sided justice, but he points out that there is a more important and deeper lesson than the patent one of Communist exploitation. "Nobody seemed to remember," he writes, "that Communists magnified an issue because one-sided application of the law gave them an issue to magnify. Had Willie McGee been given a 'white man's sentence,' the case might have died in the same obscurity that once engulfed McGee, and the Communists would have had to work much harder for their symbol."

Mr. Rowan has no kind words for Negro appeasers, who invariably paint the rosier aspects of racial discrimination. He lists George Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, the nation's largest Negro weekly, as an eminent example. He accuses Schuyler of writing for the box office, writing what whites want to read, and asserts that Schuyler deplores the critics rather than the conditions that make criticism possible and necessary. He condemns Schuyler for pointing out, for instance, that Negroes are better off in America than in South Africa. "Is it an American test by which we decide that what the American Negro gets is more satisfactory because Negroes in South Africa get something worse?" he asks. "Americans can only judge America by the American standard, and that is the standard of democracy."

In the final analysis, this is the standard by which the Negro American, like every other American, judges his country and his rights. He wants everything that any other American wants. And he feels, as Rowan concludes, that he is entitled to nothing less.

WILLIAM A. BROWER

Romantic Realist

THE STORIES OF FRANK O'CONNOR. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

YEATS'S praise of Frank O'Connor, "O'Connor is doing for Ireland what Chekhov did for Russia," is not excessive. It is difficult to write about him without falling into extravagant language, for at his best he is so good that only superlatives seem proper. His rapid prose is unpretentious, calling no attention to itself except as, to a transatlantic ear, it is filled with the colloquialisms of Irish English. One would never guess, reading them, that O'Connor has rewritten some of these stories as many as fifty times, so fresh do they sound.

Two lines from Yeats's poem, "September 1913," are useful in defining their complexity:

> Romantic Ireland's dead and gone
> It's with O'Leary in the grave

The explicit, bald statement is modified by a rhythm reminiscent of some romantic and sentimental Irish song. In the world of these stories a similar counterpoint exists. O'Connor, who belongs among the Irish realists of the last twenty-five years, has little in common with, say, Lady Gregory or Synge. He writes about the Ireland of the Troubles

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and after, and almost always with his eye fixed firm on his subject. But again and again the romantic Irish note sounds and is resolved, miraculously, into perfect harmony. For instance: Charlie Cashman, the mooning hero of The Holy Door, is finally rescued by true love—the girl of his dreams—from the loneliness and unpopularity which beset him. Like most of O'Connor's men and boys he is at once a mocker and a dreamer. His troubles, however, are unpleasant actualities—a parochial morality dictated by women and priests, the gossip of a country town, and the wretched town itself: "Sometimes he went to the house door and stood there for a full half-hour with his shoulder against the jamb, drinking in the misery of the view in the winter dusk: the one mean main street where everyone knew him and no one wished him well." When O'Connor's stories fail, and sometimes they do, it is usually because he has allowed his romantic sentimentality to flourish unchecked by his awareness of the facts of life. Then he lapses into cuteness and whimsy.

His landscape is Cork, the small towns round about, the west coast, and, on occasion, the western islands. His characters are small tradesmen, priests, school teachers, peasants, day laborers, women, young girls, and children. Everywhere the family and the hierarchy dominate the scene. The family pattern is familiar; we have read about it, transplanted, in the best novels of James Farrell: the wives devout and fiercely puritanical, or devout and tipsy, and, either way, likely to be cold women; the husbands, good providers when they are not out on a spree, suspicious of the influence of the priests on their wives, confused sexually, kindly, except when they feel impelled to set their houses in order with shocking violence. The narrator is often a grave small boy, too wise for his years. In this rough world, where love is likely to come in inexplicable bouts of affection and is, in any event, an undependable quantity, he remains stable, though bewildered and often hurt.

About the hierarchy—he is writing about the clergy and not about the church—O'Connor is mildly ironic. Just as, to the looker on at unbridled domestic turbulence the wonder is that so little serious damage finally comes of it, so, to the non-Catholic, the wonder is that an omnipresent priesthood should turn out to be, after all, an accepted and commonplace part of the picture. Father Ring plays a venal role in The Miser and a sinister one in The Cheapjack; he is the good angel in The Holy Door. That, O'Connor seems to be saying, is the way the hierarchy can be expected to behave.

The gusto with which he attacks his stories and the subjects he chooses show that he regards life as a spectacle that, while often joyous and comic, usually turns out at the last to be sad. So, in the fine story The Miser, events center, for the purposes of comedy, on how a dying old man outwits the grasping and astute Father Ring. All at once, toward the end, one sentence—a moment of vision—intensifies and alters the feeling. The trickery which has held our interest up to now becomes of no great importance. The nun who had cared for the old man is leaving his house after his death: "Then, having tidied away her pots and pans and had a last look at old Tom Devereux, the man who had stroked her hands, and praised them as no one else had done since she was a girl, she washed her eyes and went back to her convent."

The major realities encompassing this Ireland are poverty, ignorance, and drink. Yet from them there gushes an exciting existence which, even at its grimmest, is infused with a sense of wonder and beauty and sorrow. Obviously that very complex matter, the marvelous and terrible Irish temperament, has a great deal to do with this transformation—as have also the shifting colors of sea and sky and land to which O'Connor is acutely responsive. Such infinite riches in the cramped little rooms of these towns and farmhouses! In the finest story, In the Train, nothing really happens. Some peasants and provincial police are returning home from the city after the trial of a peasant woman who has been acquitted of poisoning her husband only because no other peasant has been willing to testify against her. That is all. Yet in fifteen pages, as the train drags its way by night "across a dark plain, the heart of Ireland," a world is created: the police sergeant, tranquil even though he has lost his case; his finely drawn, cattish wife; an engaging drunk who has no connection with the rest of the characters; the wild peasants; and, finally, the woman herself, seen only for a few moments of anguish and despair but unforgettably alive.

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Books in Brief

WISDOM, MADNESS, AND FOLLY. The Philosophy of a Lunatic. By John Custance. Pellegrini and Cudahy. $3.75. "Unlike any book by an ex-lunatic you have ever read.' Thus the jacket, and considering the narrow limits of the category, the claim is not an immodest one. According to the pseudonymous author, most of the volume was written in an asylum, but the attempt is at something more than a first-hand account of the experiences of a manic-depressive. Mr. Custance, who has read a good many of the more esoteric writers on psychology and philosophy, has the notion that madness may be only a different sort of sanity and affords insights into realms of reality unrecognized by the "normal." In the last chapter he presents a dual "theory of actuality," in the course of which he argues that the universe may be governed both by mechanistic laws and by angels. It is a curious experience to read a book by a man sane enough to write sometimes with great lucidity yet deranged enough to indulge at other times in what sounds to a "normal" reader very much like gibberish. Impressive as a case history and sometimes interesting for flashes of what looks like genuine originality of thought.

BUT NOT FORGOTTEN. The Adventures of the University Players. By Norris Houghton. Sloane. $4. An intimate jaunty account of a summer theater which operated at Falmouth, Cape Cod, during the early thirties and trained an unusual number of people destined for success in the commercial theater—notably Margaret Sullivan, Henry Fonda, Joshua Logan, James Stewart, Mildred Natwick, and Bretaigne Windust. The organizers were young men recently graduated from Princeton, and the story is told by one of them. All were enthusiasts eager to work for $5 a week plus room and board, they were not primarily reformers or devoted to any particular cult. They also came the usual cropper when they attempted to establish a repertory on Broadway, but Mr. Houghton is somewhat surprisingly inclined to support the Princeton policy in regard to dramatics against that of Yale. He thinks the extra-curricular activities at the former institution better training than a School of the Drama officially directed. His narrative is spirited enough to be entertaining even to those not primarily interested in the theater.

THE ROMANTIC '90's. By Richard Le Gallienne. Macmillan. $3. Richard Le Gallienne was a prolific writer of light verse, assorted criticism, and innumerable essays; there is also a novel, forgotten now but once enormously popular, "The Quest of the Golden Girl." "The Romantic '90's," first published in 1926, is the account of his green and pleasant youth in the London of Oscar Wilde and the *Yellow Book*. Like other young men of his generation he made a pilgrimage to Swinburne at Putney; he knew Meredith and "Fiona Macleod"; once, in Oxford, he met Pater at a dinner party; he was on friendly terms with Wilde. As a historian of the *fin de siècle*, however, he is no match for Holbrook Jackson or Osbert Burdett; and he lacks entirely the insight into the period which Yeats displays in his "Autobiographies." He wrote on the assumption—breath-taking in its oversimplification—that "generally speaking, all our present-day developments amount to little more than pale or exaggerated copying of the '90s." Yet his quiet talk about the swans of his youth is marked by a modest common sense. If they have turned out to be, on the whole, less important than he thought they were, his stories about them are amusing and urbane.

CONTRIBUTORS

A. J. P. TAYLOR, fellow and tutor in modern history at Magdalen College, Oxford University, is the author of "From Napoleon to Stalin. Comments on European History" and other books.

WILLIAM A. BROWER, a reporter for the Toledo *Blade*, made a 15,000-mile tour of the United States to study the Negro problem. He wrote a series of articles for the *Blade* entitled "15,000,000 Americans."

FRANCES KEENE, who lived in Italy for many years, edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," a documented history of Fascism as told by the opposition.

ERNEST JONES regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation*.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MARY GRIERSON'S "Donald Francis Tovey" (Oxford, $5) is a biography written by one who—first as a student, then as a teacher and friend—was personally associated with Tovey during all his twenty-six years at the University of Edinburgh. This personal involvement has resulted in inadequacies of material and faults of tone; but it isn't likely that anyone other than a devoted friend would have taken the trouble to write a biography at all; and even with its inadequacies this one gives us information which not only is interesting in itself to anyone who knows Tovey's writing and would like to know something about the man who produced it, but which also throws considerable light on the strengths of the writing and its weaknesses.

On the one hand there are, in Tovey's writing, extraordinary musical perception in relation to the particular work, and the understanding and knowledge of a mind that has ranged widely and intensively not only in the literature of music but in territory outside of music; and there is formulation of all this perception and understanding in statements that are epigrammatic in their concentration and clarification of sense, their resulting impact and brilliance. But on the other hand the mind sometimes ranges so far afield, or the formulation becomes so epigrammatic, that the thought is obscure and difficult or impossible to follow.

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From Dr. Grierson's book we learn of the prodigious musical gifts of this son of completely unmusical parents. They were discovered when he was not yet five years old by a Miss Weisse, who kept a school for children of some of the masters at Eton, and who proceeded to take complete charge of his musical and general education. Dr. Grierson regards this as "one of the happier accidents of Fate," because Miss Weisse, in addition to being an excellent teacher who was able to develop the boy's musical capacities, had what it took to overcome his parents' opposition to a musical career, and also was in a position to bring him to the amazed attention of Joachim and other great musicians of the day. But if those capacities hadn't been discovered and developed by Miss Weisse they undoubtedly would have been discovered and developed by someone else; and Tovey then would have been spared the consequences of his involvement with Miss Weisse that made it one of the unhappier accidents of Fate. For she took complete charge not only of his education but of his life: at the age of five he was enveloped by a possessive, dominating devotion which never let go and whose grip he never could shake off—with damaging consequences not only for his personal life but even for his career.

These consequences are well summed up by an English reviewer of the book in the statement that "he grew up fatally conditioned to eccentricity"—or, as I would put it, to escape, if not from the domination of Miss Weisse, then from the domination of the practical conditions and necessities to which normal behavior defers, such as available time for work, available space for a piece of writing, rational connection with the minds of others in a lecture or article. The inability to defer to its practical conditions and necessities cost him the financially successful career as a concert pianist that he had been trained for, and resulted in years of confusion, overwork, and financial insecurity. It was to save himself from this situation and to escape from Miss Weisse that he applied, at the age of thirty-nine, for the Reid professorship at Edinburgh; and this resulted in the supreme eccentricity of his twenty-six years' persistence in devoting his talents and energies to the cultivation of the musically barren soil of that city. As for his personal life, it was only after his escape to Edinburgh that he married—at the age of forty-one; and there is not the slightest intimation in Dr. Grierson's book of any emotional experience before that. It isn't surprising, therefore, that he married someone who turned out to be mentally unstable, and that the disastrous marriage ended in a divorce. His second marriage, however, seems to have been completely happy.

One comes to feel amazement at what he achieved in spite of his handicaps—the composing, the occasional concerts in London and the musical centers of Europe, the lecturing, the writing, all in addition to the regular teaching and concerts in Edinburgh. His gifts and achievements and personal qualities won him the esteem and devoted friendship of some of the greatest musicians of his time—Joachim, Fritz and Adolf Busch, Albert Schweitzer, Casals, who when he was to play Tovey's Cello Concerto wrote that the date would be the most important of his musical life, and that Joachim must have felt the same joy when he performed Brahms's Violin Concerto the first time. But for Tovey there was unhappiness in the fact that his music did not win more frequent performance and more general recognition, that his competence as a conductor was questioned, and that even his writing was attacked.

His music and conducting are unknown to us here; but we do know the writing, and it is a surprise to learn of the attacks on it that began with the program-notes for his first concerts in London and have continued to the present. His essay on the classical concerto, written for the first performance of his own piano concerto in 1903, was characterized in the Manchester *Guardian* (Dr. Grierson doesn't say by whom) as "an extraordinary mixture of extremely able and interesting criticism and the most startling narrow-mindedness"; and when Volume 5 of "Essays in Musical Analysis" apeared in 1937 Tovey wrote that "Constant Lambert . . . has flown out violently against my program-notes." One would like to know (Dr. Grierson doesn't tell us) Lambert's objections, and the reason for his violence, just as one wonders about the reason for the sheer venom in some recent English comments on Tovey's writing. Perhaps it was again his eccentricity that aroused this intense dislike in some people for a man who was loved by many others.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

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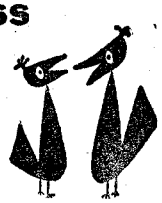

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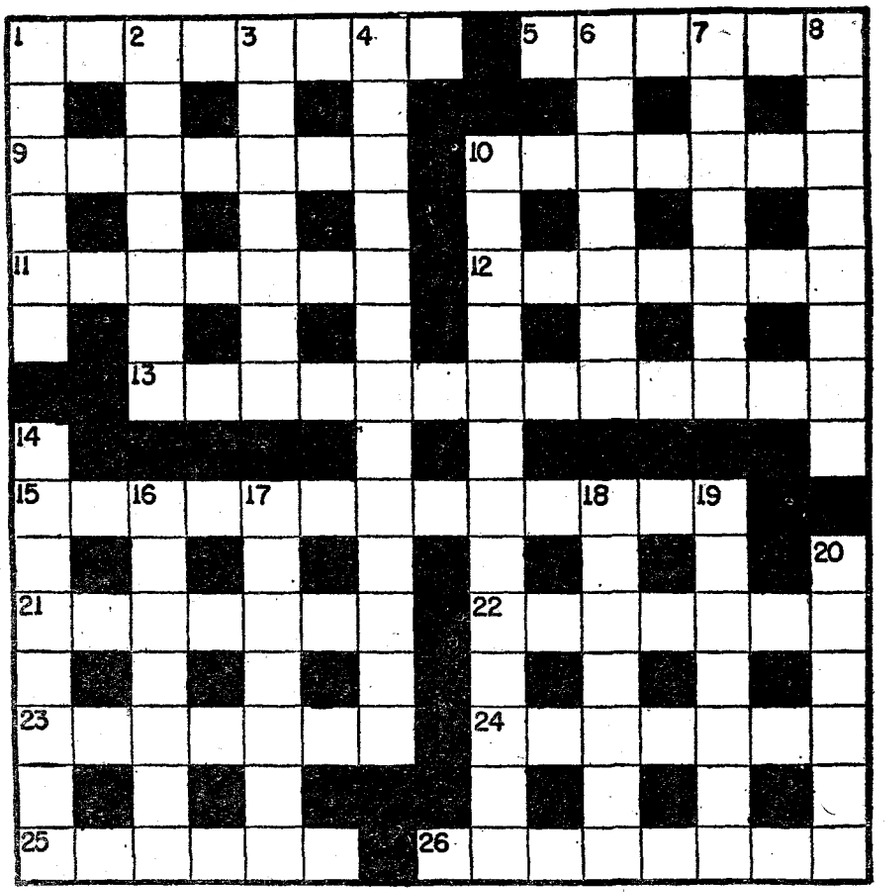
Crossword Puzzle No. 480

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Not exactly an occasion for splitting hairs, but here's a sort of worker who comes back to give out with a stratagem. (4-4)
5 See 16 down.
9 To keep oneself from the chorus? (7)
10 This sort of tree was bent around the trunk, perhaps. (7)
11 Certainly not the hope of the French couple! (7)
12 You might find the animal a recently deceased salt. (7)
13 Logical place to show 10 down? (6, 7)
15 They didn't necessarily get their degrees from a correspondence school! (13)
21 Care had to be used to find game here. (7)
22 Would you expect to find a revolutionist out with the father of the 12 patriarchs? Quite the contrary! (7)
23 Might make the spirits rise if a change is made. (7)
24 Boxers, perhaps, but mine might be responsible for one of them. (7)
25 Insular version of rabbits? (6)
26 Are close to what gets into the salad, obviously! (8)

DOWN

1 The staff gets its money around here (or at least an imitation of it). (6)
2 Declination. (7)
3 Sounds like a masterpiece of wood, but some brewers push it. (7)
4 If your pop is British, this is it! (Good medicine to us, perhaps.) (7, 6)
6 To tell how old one is might be mean! (7)
7 Implying exeunt to the actors? (Shakespeare bewept such a state.) (7)
8 Saw how the plot shaped up, perhaps. (8)
10 Lilliput's king must have had them, associated with more prominent features. (5, 8)
14 and 17. Would such a thing be particularly serious? (3, 7)
16 and 5 across. Would one of these be a post chaise or a Black Maria? (7, 6)
17 See 14.
18 It might be a piece of an animal in a peculiar coat. (7)
19 Bad weather for Unterseeboot Null? (3-4)
20 Is seen to be actually existing. (2, 4)

—•—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 479

ACROSS:—1 LEFT AT THE POST; 10 IMPLORE; 11 ROADBED; 12 STYLISTIC; 13 NICKS; 14 ASH CAN; 16 DALLYING; 19 FIREWOOD; 22 SWEAR; 23 CATHEDRAL; 25 ARIETTA; 26 ALMSMAN; 27 DEAD RECKONING.

DOWN:—2 EMPTY; 3 TROPICAL WORSTED; 4 TREATS; 5 HARD COAL; 6 PLAIN-CLOTHES MAN; 7 SUBSCRIBE; 8 TIPSTAFF; 9 ODDS; 15 HORSEHIDE; 17 GASOLINE; 18 CONCLAVE; 21 ATTACK; 22 and 20 SEAMSTRESS; 24 ROMAN.

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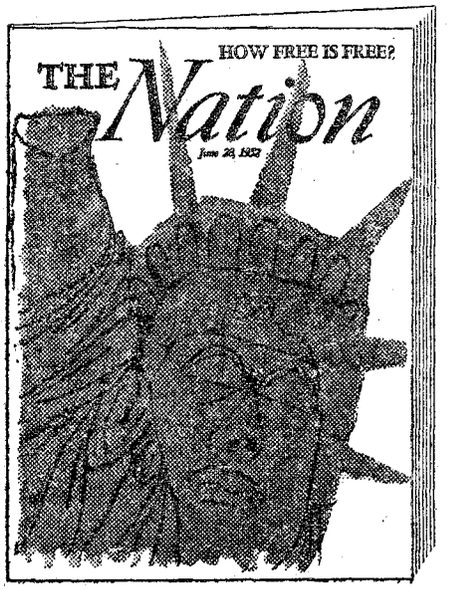

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